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NATIONS STRIVE TO RECONCILE POWER WITH RESPONSIBILITY

MORE and more, as discussion of post-war plans focuses on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals which are to be considered at the San Francisco conference, the problems of the peace narrow down to one fundamental question: How can the military, industrial and financial resources of the great powers be harnessed to the task of assuring security to all without, at the same time, imposing restrictions intolerable to the small nations? In what way can the overwhelming might of the United States, Britain and Russia be so precisely balanced by a sense of responsibility for the welfare of the international community as to offer hope of stability and not a threat of further wars?

DILEMMA OF SMALL NATIONS. This question, however varied its aspects, is the same wherever we turn in Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Near and Middle East. Everywhere the small countries want the great powers to assume responsibility for their safety and welfare. They want guarantees of the integrity of their territories, armaments to defend themselves, expanded markets at stable or rising prices for their products, loans and raw materials to revive industries shattered by war, or to start new industries in undeveloped areas.

Yet at the same time they are jealously on guard to see that the advantages they seek to obtain from the great powers will not result in exploitation of their resources or encroachments on their independence. The very weakness of the small nations makes them apprehensive, and quick to detect real or imagined slights. Their understandable oversusceptibility easily develops into a form of intransigence that can be just as much of an obstacle to peaceful international relations as the aggressive designs of some of the great powers. But instead of making allowances for the overstrained nerves of small nations, especially those that have been subjected to Axis terrorism, the great powers often seem im-

patient of delays and apprehensions on the part of weaker neighbors, and by pressing them for prompt decisions give the impression of trying to dictate their fate. That was the outspoken reaction of the Polish government-in-exile to the Yalta decisions—and others, less vocal, have felt equally disturbed. France, although classed as a great power, has expressed through General de Gaulle the fear that it may be used as a rubber stamp for the decisions of the Big Three.

Whatever form the United Nations organization may take, whatever mechanism may be devised to give all nations, a feeling of equality, there is bound to be a residue of uneasiness, envy, and distrust in relations between the strong and the weak. This should not come as a surprise to us in this country where, even under unusually favorable social conditions, the ugly problems that arise in the treatment of racial and religious minorities can be witnessed daily. Only the slow—sometimes exasperatingly slow—process of education, of experience shared in common, of a life that offers the individual opportunities to enrich himself and the community through work and creative leisure, can gradually alleviate the strains and stresses of our own society.

RESTORATION OF HUMAN DIGNITY. And here we may perhaps find a useful parallel for reconciling potential conflicts between the great powers and the small nations. For after their experience with Axis totalitarianism, the small nations will not accept any attempt to regulate their lives, however benevolent. All peoples who have lived under Axis rule are at one in feeling that what caused them most distress was not material deprivation, or even physical suffering, but the indignities heaped upon them as human beings by the Germans and Japanese. History is full of cruel episodes. But it would be difficult to find many examples of the determined, unrelenting, utterly cynical effort of the Axis con-

querors to destroy the essence of human existence. "They spat upon our souls" is the way Russians in German-occupied areas have repeatedly described their experience. Only by restoring and respecting the dignity of the individual, no matter how weak and defenseless he may be—not by imposing new restrictions—can the United Nations hope to liquidate the fearful heritage of Axis oppression. It may then prove less difficult than it sometimes seems today to respect the dignity and rights of weak nations. But just as the individual, however weak, has some responsibility to the community in which he lives, so even the smallest nations cannot expect protection and economic help from the great powers unless they are ready to carry their share of the common burden. This consideration undoubtedly influenced the decision of the Big Three at Yalta to exclude from the San Francisco conference all countries which had not decided, by a given date, to participate in the war effort.

Speaking for small nations in the Western Hemisphere, Mexican Foreign Minister Ezequiel Padilla urged a plenary session of the Inter-American Conference on February 23 to dedicate itself "to the defense of the cause of human dignity." The "frustrated lives" of millions in this hemisphere, he said, offer little hope of social security and economic expansion without which "peace" is merely a dark and gloomy armistice." These objectives, he declared, "will only be attained, by uniting the energies, the resources, and the confidence of all the Americas." In fact, in the history-making Act of Chapultepec the small nations of Latin America go so far as to welcome the military assistance of the United States to prevent acts of aggression by any American state on other states in this hemisphere.

President Roosevelt, in his speech of March 1 to Congress, and Prime Minister Churchill, in his address of February 27 to the House of Commons, speaking for two great powers, stressed both the

heavy responsibilities borne by the United States, Britain and Russia in the winning of the war, and the need for cooperation by all nations if military victory is to bear fruit. The Yalta compromise on voting procedure in the security council of the proposed United Nations Organization, announced on March 5, stresses the fact that the great powers will have to supply most of the military force needed to assure security, and must therefore have the final say about decisions involving use of force. The small nations, however, will have equality with the great powers in bringing before the security council any situation likely to threaten peace, and request its consideration.

World peace, however, said Mr. Roosevelt, "cannot be a peace of large nations—or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world." Cooperation requires compromise. The President did not pretend that he entirely agreed with the most criticized compromise of the Yalta Conference—that reached about Poland—not did he claim it was an ideal solution. Mr. Churchill seemed definitely more satisfied with the Polish territorial settlement—although Foreign Secretary Eden, on March 1, said forthrightly that the British government was not satisfied with the present composition of the Lublin régime. As so often happens, the very measure of agreement achieved by the Big Three at Yalta seems to have made Britain and the United States less cautious about discussing points of disagreement. This is a healthy sign, and perhaps the most promising portent of Yalta for the small nations. And if we want an encouraging example of how a great power can deal with a small nation, then the moving ceremony in which General MacArthur turned over the civil administration of the Philippines to President Osmeña on February 28 marks a milestone in international relations.

VERA MICHELES DEAN

FUTURE WORLD ORGANIZATION MUST DEAL WITH HEALTH PROBLEMS

Disease, like war, respects no political boundaries; an outbreak of either in any part of the world may become an instant menace to all other parts. An international health organization, therefore, will be an essential element of the world political organization which emerges from the United Nations meeting at San Francisco next month. The importance of such an agency will be, perhaps, second only to the military precautions adopted to insure peace. Official agencies from which a "world health department" may logically develop, or which may cooperate with it, include UNRRA, the Red Cross and the League of Nations' Health Section, which is still functioning. Unofficial agencies which have contributed greatly to public health on an interna-

tional scale will also play a prominent role in the international control of disease. The Rockefeller Foundation holds a unique position in this field as a result of its pioneering work since 1913. A brief review of its activities in the war years may illustrate some of the health problems to be solved by whatever international organization is finally established.

In cooperation with government health departments at home and abroad, as well as by laboratory research and field investigation, the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation has carried on many of its basic projects without serious interruption by the war. Problems directly due to the world conflict have been dealt with by the

Health Commission, a special agency which early in the war carried out nutrition surveys in Spain and France, and is still supporting nutrition projects in England. In 1944 the Health Commission began work on typhus and malaria in Italy, and Americans who recall the Spanish influenza epidemic of 1918-19 will appreciate the importance of this feature of the Commission's work, in view of the threat of widespread disease on the heels of the war. Since its formation in 1940 the Health Commission has met urgent calls for service, from North Africa to the Burma Road. Among its activities and those of the Health Division may be mentioned:

YELLOW FEVER. To meet the war demand for a vaccine which provided active immunity against yellow fever after a single injection—developed by the laboratories of the International Health Division in 1936—the Foundation had to multiply its laboratory space and the number of its technicians. A long-term study of the immunity provided by the vaccine also was undertaken, and preliminary observations in Brazil and Colombia indicate that it ordinarily lasts for four years. Tests of stored serum show that it may be kept fully effective at ordinary icebox temperature for at least two years.

Of special interest to the Army are studies in "jungle" yellow fever, a previously unknown variety of the disease discovered in 1932 by Dr. Fred L. Soper of the International Health Division. These studies are being conducted in Colombia and Africa as well as Brazil, where Dr. Soper's important discovery was made. Control measures against the classical type of yellow fever have continued in Panama, British Guiana, Peru, Bolivia, Uganda, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria and the Gold Coast. Study of epidemics in the Numba Mountains of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan showed that the type differed in no way from that of Central and West Africa and of South America.

MALARIA. Extensive work in research and control has been carried on in such widely separated areas as the Cochabamba Valley in Bolivia and Chungking, China. In the latter city, surveys are being conducted to determine where incidence is highest, and control work is being applied to those areas. An earlier and outstanding accomplishment of the Foundation, carried out in cooperation with the Brazilian government, was eradication of the mosquito from Brazil—at an expense of \$2,000,000—by the employment of more than 2,000 trained workers over an area of 12,000 square miles. In 1944 the Health Commission, on the invitation and with the cooperation of United States military au-

thorities developed methods for the use of DDT insecticide to control malaria mosquitoes in Italy. At the request of the Egyptian government, the Health Commission has also undertaken a control program in Egypt, which had severe malaria epidemics in 1942 and 1943. Efforts of the International Health Division Laboratories are now concentrated on testing new chemical compounds for their efficacy against malaria parasites.

TYPHUS. As far back as 1915 the Foundation helped finance a Red Cross Sanitary Commission to control this disease in Serbia, where 9,000 new cases were occurring daily. Its present typhus program was set up in 1940, both for the purpose of adding to basic knowledge of the disease and of preventing similar epidemics in this war. Studies in infection and control are being conducted in the New York laboratories of the Health Division and in Free China. Field work is sponsored by the Health Commission.

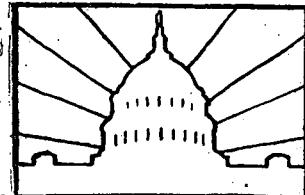
RESPIRATORY DISEASES. Since the common cold, influenza and pneumonia form the largest and most serious group of infections in the armed forces, the Commission provided aid for full-time Army research on these subjects at Johns Hopkins, the University of Michigan, and Boston City Hospital, and work was later centered at Fort Bragg. Field investigations were also carried on at three Army camps, the government making funds available for the entire project after July 1943. Methods in the preparation of influenza vaccine, worked out previously in the International Health Division Laboratories and applied by commercial laboratories, were found of service to the Army Influenza Commission. An extensive outbreak of influenza in camps late in 1943 affected groups vaccinated against the "A" type of the disease, but clinical studies showed a 75 per cent reduction in incidence among men vaccinated, as compared with those unvaccinated. These observations offered overwhelming evidence that the principle of prophylactic vaccination against influenza is sound and valid, although further improvements in the vaccine are still being sought.

The pioneer work of Florey of Oxford in the development of penicillin (discovered several years earlier by Dr. Alexander Fleming in London) dates from a grant of \$1,200 made by the Foundation in 1936. It may be remarked that not often have greater returns in public health been achieved from so modest an investment. This illustrates the type of "imaginative" research—returns from which are purely speculative—which a private agency is in a special position to promote. WALTER WILGUS

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Washington News Letter



CHAPULTEPEC A STEP TOWARD WESTERN HEMISPHERE EQUALITY

The Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace at Mexico City raises the question whether there is a conflict between a regional system of security—in this instance, Western Hemisphere solidarity; and a universal system—the projected union to be defined at San Francisco. From the regional point of view, the Mexico City meeting has achieved a high measure of success, as evidenced in the adoption on March 3 of the Act of Chapultepec, which "during the war" assigns to all the signatory American republics the joint right to intervene against a Western Hemisphere country carrying out or threatening an act of aggression against a neighbor. The steps of intervention would include: (1) recall of chiefs of diplomatic missions; (2) breaking of diplomatic relations; (3) breaking of consular relations; (4) breaking of postal, telegraphic, telephonic and radio-telephonic relations; (5) interruption of economic, commercial and financial relations; and (6) use of armed force to prevent or repel aggression. Part II of the Act of Chapultepec recommends that the wartime declaration be adopted constitutionally by the republics as permanent policy through a treaty. Would this permanent American regionalism encourage the Soviet Union or Great Britain to renew their interest in spheres of influence of their own?

NEW POLICY FOR U.S. This Act is an historic departure in the policy of the United States as well as of the sister republics. It formally commits this country to intervention—specifically abandoned only 12 years ago at the Seventh International Conference of American States at Montevideo. That meeting laid the foundation for the hemisphere solidarity system, which resulted from the "Good Neighbor Policy" enunciated by President Roosevelt in his First Inaugural. Article 8 of the Convention on Rights and Duties of States adopted at Montevideo provided: "No state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another."

The Act, in the second place, apparently supersedes the Monroe Doctrine, our interpretation of which in the past aroused resentment against us in the southern republics. When President Monroe enunciated the Doctrine in 1823, it stirred the enthusiastic approval of the other Americas, which then regarded it as an assurance of security from European pressure. But essentially it was a policy

of the United States, not of the Americas, and this country at a later date used it as the authority for intervention in the disturbed affairs of our neighbors. The neighbors in time came to realize that the Doctrine which defended them from European pressures exposed them to United States pressures. In the Monroe Doctrine this country undertook to protect the continents of the New World; in Chapultepec the American republics together undertake to safeguard them.

PROBLEM OF SAN FRANCISCO. Yet for all the progress it represents in the development of this country's Western Hemisphere policy, the Act of Chapultepec is a strangely contradictory instrument for a sponsor of the Dumbarton Oaks world security program to support. It is possible that the American republics under Chapultepec might decide that a threat to hemisphere peace exists, while the security council of the United Nations, under the world organization charter to be drawn at San Francisco out of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, would decide that it did not exist. Or, if the American republics voted for action and the United Nations security council opposed action, would the Americas bow to the greater body's decision? The problem could become acute with respect to Argentina, a country whose policies are given different interpretations in the United States and Great Britain. Chapter 8, Section C, of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals recognizes the desirability of regional arrangements, but paragraph 2 says "no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the regional council."

The most enthusiastic advocates of the Chapultepec idea among the American republics may try at San Francisco to introduce into the United Nations Charter the philosophy of equalitarian approach to joint settlement of international disputes which Chapultepec represents. Under Chapultepec the small nation is equal with the large in decision-making, whereas Dumbarton Oaks puts decisions in the hands of a few. Perhaps the refusal of France to join in sponsorship of the San Francisco meeting will make it possible for small-nation objectors to the Dumbarton Oaks system to obtain a fruitful hearing for their position.

BLAIR BOLLES

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